/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and poᵒri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarer
● [173] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Áróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[text continues on p. 36]

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Ẍera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [E912] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Ẍera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/), comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Ẍẹbegeʷõge: Iparẍẹba, of the Bãdejebage Ẍabogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Ẍẹbegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewaguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
● 773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most [262] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony.

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes.

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted.

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

773 Sun (Meri) and Moon (Ari) are another pair of brothers, but figure largely as tricksters. Thus they put out the Indians' fire, which, however, is salvaged by a toad. The Indians pursue the mischief-makers, who climb trees, and kill Moon, who has sought refuge in a low tree and is eaten by a canid. Sun kills the canid and resuscitates Moon from fragments of his bones. This revival motif recurs in different contexts. In one game Moon kills Sun, but cannot restore him. However, Sun rises by his own power and turns into a red arara. Moon vainly looks for him and nearly starves, when Sun transforms himself into a fish, letting Moon harpoon him. Finally, Sun and Moon neglect the Buriti clansmen's warning, and break their hosts' bottles. They are pursued, caught, and blown skyward by their captors, who bid them remain above.

Other myths describe a flood caused by an angry spirit and the jaguar's swallowing of a monkey, who cuts his way out. In one tale boys climb to the sky on a rope, which they cut in order to prevent their mothers from following. As a penalty the boys must remain in the sky, their eyes becoming the stars.

773 The ascent to the sky by a rope or creeper is widespread in South
171 America, being found, e. g., among the *Cariban Taulipang*. In the Twin story, the pacification of the jaguar by the offer of a woman, her death through an older kinsman of the husband, the post-mortem extraction of the heroes, and their revenging the woman's death recall *Guarani* motifs, as well as the *Bacairi* tale of Keri and Kame. On the other hand, these *Bacairi* names and their linkage with Sun and Moon, respectively, rather suggest the second *Bororo* myth of a pair of brothers.

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A [complete bibliography not processed]

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies--no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the
533 names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with
201 more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for
431 the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

607 Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony--the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also
723 significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the ceremony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

593 In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi roqu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 Peru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
563 at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
824 house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
764 dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
291 must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
773 Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
533 it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
301 boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
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613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
616 the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation--employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense--gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
• 773 quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
181 ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities <u>are</u> differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (<u>Boroge rore ino jamedu</u>). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
• 773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujaqureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Araroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kioqwaqiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kuiaqureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

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"This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also bakugumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo Iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."

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1 "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure Iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

773 616 571 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Arorore) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

[301] [539] [293] [237] [304] [302] [292]

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

periko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)

enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo irogodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)

imo periko (a headdress)

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616
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Temigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo irogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enoqwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.

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Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it

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possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

773 616 571 But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many subclans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the aduqodoge [825 776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) belonging to the Aroroe [774]. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujaqureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Hamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

773 616 571 776 Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

776 Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

776 Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

614 The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 619 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 616 613 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [57] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodaregе by the hand and leads them to the pot [88] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [58] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [76] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [77] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare, you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.

The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] [562] [775] The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [77] [222] [224] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] [539] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was ariqao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression ariqao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Ariqao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or ariqao bororo. Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

them their names. The learning of names continues even when people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most important material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends. The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge, who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the villages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties, clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:

• 773 [539] [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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1 "Ao pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aros achabaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu boturio jamodu. e kije. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

● 773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
825 ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[341] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already found out "that any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral." Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner: "When the contention within the hut reached the culminating point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass /148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure, the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv Für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./

773 fixed; but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

/515 cont./

821 789 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzũ pzũ, and, with the hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

[276] The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

● 773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable [124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

/516 cont./

115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

•773 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarái, also called baredyeragúdo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarái were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *mesundé*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives 591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys [606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were [627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabála* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabála* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*wasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

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n73 *Aípuku* then made holes in the ears of the *abusé*, but the *uwasé* refused to have their ears pierced. He then asked them to live with him, but they refused. The *abusé* went north, and the *uwasé* went south. *Aípuku* was sad because his children disobeyed him. It is interesting to note that the *abusé* and *uwasé*, who were the traditional enemies of the Umotina, came from the sores in *Aípuku's* legs, were unasked for, and were disobedient. After creating all the people, *Aípuku* and his wife left.

In the old days the Umotina did not have maize. One day when a woman was out in the woods collecting she found some sucuri (anaconda) eggs. She thought that they were birds' eggs and put them in the basket which she carried on her back. The eggs broke, leaked down her back and into her womb. She became pregnant and gave birth to a snake. She liked the snake very much because it was her child and could talk. In order to hide it from her sons she let the snake go into her womb. One day, however, the sons saw the snake as it went up into a buriti tree to collect nuts. They asked their mother who it was. At first the woman denied seeing it, but her sons insisted. Finally she said it was her son. The boys were very angry and said they would kill the snake when they saw it again. The snake heard this while he was hiding in the woman's womb. For a long time the woman carried the snake in her womb but one day it came out and went into the woods to collect buriti nuts. The woman's sons saw it, killed it, and cut it into pieces. The mother went into the woods and cried when she saw what had happened to her snake-son. She picked up the pieces and buried them and from each piece a maize plant grew up. She gave the ears to the other women in the village who planted them. Since then the Umotina have had maize.

One day a woman caught a "lambari," a small fresh-water fish. She liked this particular fish very much and, as she had no children, she took it home and hid it under a mat. Soon she heard it crying and when she lifted the mat she saw a boy instead of a fish. For a long time the woman hid the fish-boy from her husband, but the boy insisted on going out and following the man when he went into the woods. One day as he was following the man he called out and asked him

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773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

775 When a person dies his ghost (*arumuntú*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a *cotia*, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the *cotia* gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *arumuntú* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arduelo* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the village or who have no relatives to make offerings to them. When a person dies, the relatives in- 764 vite some man from another family to bury the 775 corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or